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The successful decoding of a linguistic message requires knowledge of a particular grammar, but it is becoming increasingly clear that contextual and cultural cues also play an important role in conversation. In Japanese, conversation proceeds smoothly and acquires some of its meaningfulness from the use of gestural signals, particularly head nodding. Ways that head nodding operates in Japanese are discussed, and its use is interpreted as it relates to the Cooperative Principle of Grice and as an indicator of cultural values. Transcriptions of some Japanese conversations are appended, including a middle-aged woman politely expressing an opinion, a younger woman expressing an opinion less formally, a mother reading a letter aloud to her family, and a formal interview in kimono. Contains 11 references. (Author/LB)

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A KINESIC APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING COMMUNICATION AND CONTEXT IN JAPANESE

Julie Bruch

ABSTRACT: The successful decoding of a linguistic message requires knowledge of a particular grammar, but it is becoming increasingly clear that contextual and cultural cues also play an important role in understanding utterances in conversation. In Japanese, conversation proceeds smoothly and acquires some of its meaningfulness due to the use of gestural signals, namely head nodding. This paper discusses how head nodding operates in Japanese and interprets its use as it relates to the Cooperative Principle of Grice and as an indicator of cultural values.

Until recently, the phenomena of paralinguistics and kinesics have been considered as somewhat peripheral to linguistics but have now gained a significant place in the literature. As the field of linguistics has become increasingly more open to other disciplines such as psychology or anthropology for more complete and accurate descriptions of language, it has been made more and more obvious that language simply cannot be explained without recourse to contextual factors (on a local level) and cultural factors (at a more global level). Gestures, proximity, or the use of certain voice qualities at times are necessary input for the correct decoding of an utterance. They help to make up the totality of meaning found in the purely linguistic realization of interaction. As Birdwhistell (1970:127) explains:

> . . . linguistics and kinesics are infracommunicational systems. Only in their interrelationship with each other and with comparable systems from other sensory modalities are the emergent communication systems achieved.

Although the Japanese do not use their hands or facial expressions to the extent found in some other cultures, movement of the head is a notable feature of communication, and particularly of conversational interaction in Japanese. This gestural feature, in fact,

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follows some general rules and can be characterized as to certain of its interpretive qualities. As in English, nods of the head in Japanese can be used to signify agreement or disagreement and acknowledgment of reception by the hearer of a message. It also seems to be important in a number of other ways. First, it might be helpful to discuss the quality of Japanese interaction and some cultural values which influence the form of conversations.

Some general politeness strategies which function in conversation (as mentioned by McGloin 1983:127) are that the participants in a conversation attempt to use formality, deference, and camaraderie. These three strategies, as a matter of fact, fit rather well with the stereotypical view of the Japanese. Japanese people do indeed value formality and reservedness to a high degree. The use of these types of politeness strategies in conversation tends to prevent conflict or discord among the participants. As a study by Barnlund (1975:450) pointed out, "Preserving harmony appears to be a cardinal virtue within Japanese society." This is echoed by Hinds (1983) who claims that conversational harmony is of greater importance to the Japanese than to Americans. They have many techniques to achieve this harmony. Voice quality is a highly formalized technique, especially among females (the high pitched voice used on the telephone and by store clerks to show respectful formality being points in question). There is also a large amount of the use of alternate verb endings which show in-group membership (as in sentence 1) and of the confirmatory tag particles which soften assertions (sentences 1 and 2).

(1) Sono hon wa omoshiroi deshoo ne.
that book TM interesting (conjecture) I presume,
(confirmatory particle)
"That's an interesting book, isn't it."

(2) Soo desu ne.
thus it is I presume (confirmatory particle)
"Yes, I agree."

There is also the well-known honorific system which includes terms of address, respect prefixes, polite prefixes and verb forms. This system is used most effectively as formality and deference strategies. Other conversation strategies exist which are more situation oriented in nature. They have to do with speaker intent and the general goals of conversation. Barnlund (1975:431) characterizes Japanese interaction as being more selective, more ritualized, more superficial, less intimate, and more defensive (a common defense being passive withdrawal) than it is in English. He sums up Japanese conversational style thus (p. 450):

> Conversation proceeds not by negation or contradiction as in the West, but by affirmation where the speaker seeks continual confirmation and approval from the listener. Talk becomes a means of seeking areas of concensus rather than a process of identifying differences.

One major difference between the attitude of participants in Japanese conversation and the attitude of interactants in English toward the interaction is clear then; Japanese take more caution to insure that talk does not become impolite or uncomfortable in any way.

Additional harmony guarding devices are mentioned by Hinds (1983): general tendencies to avoid refusing or negating directly, repetition by a hearer of the speaker's words (to increase camaraderie), and the speaker accommodating himself to the hearer's needs. Hinds goes on to explain that when there is a conversational politeness violation, another harmony maintaining device is used to repair the situation. The device consists of a shift to a higher politeness level in the conversation that includes more polite speech and more nonverbal behavior. Thus, politeness or harmony in speech is maintained. We will show how head movement fits this schema and what other additional features it might reveal about Japanese interactions.

We can observe several types of head movement in Japanese, each of which carries different functional loads. Head movements differ in their direction, force, speed, distance, interval, and number of repetitions, and these variations play a role in conveying the meaning of the kinesic signals which contribute to the flow of conversation. Whether or not there is accompanying eye gaze or smile can also influence the message that is conveyed. In some cases speaker and hearer nod simultaneously at regular intervals showing what we can presume to be a type of "illocutionary uptake" (Levinson 1983:260) on the part of the hearer, signifying that the speaker has been heard, understood, and possibly agreed with. The notion of uptake is important in influencing the form and flow of the succeeding conversation, especially in light of the special need for confirmation and approval mentioned earlier.

Since my obversations did not involve the use of equipment which would show exact timing, force, or direction of nods in limited segments of conversation, but rather are the result of viewing and transcribing large portions of interaction in an attempt to observe approximately where head movement was placed, the characterization of head nodding in Japanese given here will be tentative in nature. Nevertheless, it may point out some of the general tendencies in a broad way and

provide some possible explanations of gesture occurrence in Japanese verbal communication. Observationally, it is often difficult to distinguish random or purely physically motivated head movement from that used intentionally as part of discourse meaning. However, I will attempt to roughly describe some main types of head movement and how and when they occur.

The types of conversation viewed were varied. Situation, gender, and age were each considered as potentially affecting the gestural realm of language as they do the linguistic realm. All conversations were seen on videotaped television programs because of the necessity of being able to record and examine information by repeated observation. Types of communicative events observed were: interviews, news broadcasts, comedy acts, women explaining how to cook, a speech by the prime minister, game shows, and dramas about families.

First, social factors are related to head nodding (referred to hereforth as HN). In general, the greater the formality of a particular setting, the more HN occurs. Discussion between close friends, or among family members involves relatively little, whereas a conversation between two newly introduced strangers has much more. Formality and a consequent increase in HN may be even more notable if, for example in family conversation the audience includes a non-intimate acquaintance, e.g., a mother-in-law, or someone such as the husband's boss.

A person of lower social status or younger age speaking with someone of higher status or older age will use more HN both in the role of speaker and hearer within the intercourse. This ties in closely with situational formality since the formality level is partially determined by the relative statuses of the participants. Because women are often in roles of lower status, HN is predominant among them, but sex of itself does not seem to have much bearing. A male worker was seen to use HN more than his female boss.

Age may also have a part in the frequency and type of HN employed. Two older people of the same status in a formal situation use more polite forms and HN than two young people of the same status in the same setting. This may be a reflection of the gradual tendency towards the more and more infrequent use of grammatical forms of polite speech among young people.

Stylized speech such as news broadcasts or public speeches have very little or very controlled HN, as might be predicted from the fact that these are more prepared forms of speaking with little or no hearer uptake or interaction. In short, then, situational context determines the amount and type of HN, stylized speech

requiring very little regardless of the other factors, age and status requiring varying amounts, and formality of a setting being the most important aspect of when and how HN occurs.

Second, various types of speech acts are related to the use of HN. Explaining, persuading, listing, comforting, arguing, reporting something that is written, emphasizing, requesting, and apologizing were all seen to contain more accompanying HN than, for example, congratulating or commanding. And on the part of the listener, agreeing, understanding, confirming, or encouraging may be the illocutionary intent of response tokens such as: "aa soo desu ka" (oh, is that so?), "hai" (yes), "mmm" (oh, really?) which are employed simultaneously with HN. These back channel expressions are quite acceptable even in overlapped speech (Hinds, 1982:322). Of course all this is in conjunction with the social factors mentioned above, but those types of speech acts which require humility such as requesting or apologizing, those which require soft speech such as comforting or persuading, those which require extra emphasis as in an argument, and finally those which make use of extra clarification techniques such as explaining and reading aloud employ various types of movement. As mentioned earlier, hearer agreement or understanding are also signalled by HN, sometimes as voluntary participation in the conversation, as occurs in overlap, and sometimes as the perlocutionary effect of a subtle speaker request for back channel information. Herlofsky (1985) states that a speaker can "request" listener gaze (and presumably other responses) by hesitations, repetitions, or phrasal breaks. At times, the type of speech act being participated in overrides the demands on HN triggered by the social factors. One example was a dyadic conversation in which a middle-aged male teacher was explaining a lesson to his young female student. According to the context, the student should have used more HN since she was in the lower social position as well as younger than the teacher. But it was observed that the teacher himself engaged in HN quite often. This could have been due to the fact that he was trying to explain the subject as clearly as possible to the girl and using HN to reinforce and make obvious certain phrase groups and words within his discourse.

The types of HN employed for different speech acts have different physical realizations which will be discussed later, but since they are somewhat distinguishable at the physical level and carry distinct meaningful characteristics, Birdwhistell (1970:99-101) has termed these types of kinesic behaviors as "kinemes, allokines, and kinemorphs." The appropriateness of this terminology will not be discussed here, but it is interesting to note the analogy with phonemes, morphemes,

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and allophones or allomorphs and to find the recognition that certain movements can be qualified as carriers of discrete meaningful units.

Third, syntactically a pattern of HN can be found. HN may occur, but is not obligatory at the end of any kind of phrase, and this necessarily entails at the end of clauses and utterances. This HN may serve either as a grammatical phrase boundary marker, helping to elucidate the syntactic relations between groups of words, or it may be a form of listener response elicitation, which would coincide with Herlofsky's statement that speech is interrupted at phrasal boundaries to "request" listener gaze. Phrases seem to be salient constituent units in Japanese, as is shown in the phrase final lengthening and pauses that signal important boundaries. This is particularly noticeable in the oral reading of some types of written language or the phrase length rhythm of speech when there is any kind of interference, e.g., speaking over a faulty telephone connection, giving directions that may be difficult to understand, etc. In addition to phrasal marking, HN occurs with listing. Serial verbs or verb forms which indicate more information to come quite often incur HN. In the following example, taken from a video taped interview, points at which HN occurred are underlined.

"Jibun o migaite$_1$ koo kodomo to otto to katei to de sore
self ON polish thus children & husb & family & by then

kara shigoto to de ano soo yuu$_2$mono de motte$_3$ umarete$_4$
work & by uh like that things by have born

kurooshite$_5$sukoshi zutsu nanka ningen ga$_6$dekite$_7$ite$_8$
suffer little each some kind human SM emerge

ne"$_9$
you know?

Roughly translated, the passage says, "You polish yourself up, then, there are, like, children, a husband, a household, and then your job, uh, you have these kinds of things, you are born with them, you suffer, and little by little you can become a real person, you know?" The first, fourth and fifth instances of HN in this example show the speaker's train of thought and list the main verbs which are used to develop her idea (polish, be borr with, suffer). Numbers three, seven and eight are serial verbs, so HN could have occurred on those words as well, but it was suspended until the following verbs (4 and 5) or the final confirmatory particle (9). The sixth instance of HN shows a phrasal boundary, the end of a noun phrase which precedes the final verb. This NP is probably the part of the utterance in which the sentence culminates in its focal

point, so the HN is to be expected there. The ninth HN is either a response elicitation, a sentence boundary marker or perhaps both.

Other forms observed to generate HN are: "sore zya nakute" (it's not that . . .), "dete ittari asondari" (you go out and have fun and . . .), "to yuu koto de" (by (doing) things like that . .), "nakattara" (if it isn't, . . .) --HN is more sideways than vertical for this word, "wakaru to" (once you understand . . . .). They are all verb phrases which intimate that something additional will follow. The movement of the head occurs either on the phrase final particle or on the final morpheme of the verbs.

Semantically, there is a connection between HN and word meaning but it has less mandatory application than when the previously discussed factors of social context and speech act operate to engender gesture. Nevertheless, it is prevalent when the conditions are right. The connection consists in the fact that much in the same way as certain words are said to have negative polarity, we may claim that certain words are natural attractors of concomitant HN or have a polarity for HN. Many of the intensifiers, words of agreeing, adjectives of judgment, (quantity or quality), negatives, or words that are used to list are included in this class. These kinds of words might naturally incur HN for reasons of emphasis. This is further evidenced by the fact that they may be said to be stress-prone. They are frequently lengthened (intervocalic nasals held longer or inherently geminate consonants are further lengthened), and voice quality often changes on the vowel portions. For example, "zenzen" often becomes "zennnzen" and "kibishii" may be pronounced as "kibishiiii" with creaky voice on the vowel. It is possible for HN to occur with these words even in positions where syntactically we would not expect to find it (in other words, in mid-phrase rather than phrase boundary positions) because of the meaning prominence involved. Examples of words which may often be accompanied by HN because of their meaning qualities are given below.

zenzen (not at all)	hontoo (really)
anmari (not very)	hakkiri (precisely)
zannen (too bad)	komatta (got worried)
kibishii (strict)	taihen (very)
tottemo (very)	shizuka ni (quietly)
chanto (as is right)	dame (that's bad)
daijoobu (alright)	yappari (as expected)
mochiron (of course)	

The above observation leads us to another factor which is that HN seems to co-occur naturally with certain prosodic aspects of the language. When laryngeal voice,

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lengthening, or pitch are used for stressing a word, HN is often present to reinforce the prosodic emphasis. Hadar et al., in a 1983 study, found that there are "kinesic suprasegmentals" which relate to rhythm, juncture, and stress. They claim that the somatic movements that accompany speech are a type of coordinative structure, helping to "establish the target prosodic feature" (p. 128). But they also found the physical movements to be "dissipative structures" which are used when the articulatory system cannot efficiently handle high energy levels, thus stating that "body movement dominates over speech sounds in applying high intensities" (p. 127). Their study looked specifically at speech related head movement, and although it was done for English, they suggest that this may be a tendency of a universal nature. At least for Japanese, it seems to hold. HN can occur not only with stress but also follows intonational contours over the length of a clause, as in "ue no ko ni kiitara" (when I asked my oldest child) where the head began upward movement after the word "ko" and finished downward movement after the final word. In addition, non-final as well as final juncture in Japanese is often expressed by timing, pitch, and HN. Of course, more precise measurements would be necessary to prove this claim, but observationally it seems to be the case.

In sum, there are several situational as well as linguistic factors which influence the type, placement, and extent of HN in conversation. Some of them may work together to form the total meaning force exerted by the movement. They are broad categories which are presented without any suggestions as to specific rules, but they show at least in a general way some of the motivations for HN in Japanese. They are summarized below.

Participant Context	Context of Setting	Speaker Intention	Semantic	Discourse Junctures	Prosodic
status, age, level of intimacy	level of formality	humility, empathy (softness), emphasis, redundancy	negating, intensi- fying, qualify- ing	phrase boundaries	stress, junc- ture, intona- tional contour

Factors Influencing Head Nodding in Japanese Speech

USES

It seems clear that there are at least five principal uses of HN that interweave with the situational and linguistic influences discussed above to form part of the meaning of Japanese utterances. These uses are: emphasizing, forming a part of polite speech, clarifying grammatical boundaries, showing listener uptake, and signaling turn-taking. To show emphasis, the application of HN to an already vocally stressed pattern may bring a more precise communicative effect, as in "shizukaa ni" (quietly) where the normal form "shizuka ni" is given extra length, and stress prominence (intensity, pitch, creaky voice). The intensity dissipation view held by Hadar et al. would support this observation as would intuitive feeling.

Politeness, in light of the cultural values held by the Japanese, is a highly salient feature of interactions in general, and HN is one way to express politeness. In some cases, it may consist of a type of conversational bowing. In the openings of what are to be brief but formal conversations, it is not rare to see bowing which gradually decreases in degree in the course of the short exchange but continues in the form of nearly synchronic HN and then becomes full-fledged bowing once again when closure is near. In fact, in the event that other factors such as emphasis or grammatical clarification are not present, the level of politeness being used between two speakers can be calculated quite accurately simply from the kinesic clues without reference to the form and content of the message. In other situations, it is a form of politeness connected to displaying listener attentiveness or concord between the participants and an attempt on the part of the speaker to discover approval in the listener and continuing interactional harmony.

As a clarification technique, HN was used in contexts such as the following: the reading aloud of a letter, explaining when the relation of subject and object is not clear, dictating information for someone else to write, or when there is interference in the communication channel, e.g., background noise or speaking to foreigners or small children who do not understand well. Because of some of the linguistic characteristics of the Japanese language such as the lack of overt subjects in many sentences, as in "shiawase desu" (unspecified subject is happy), the degree of reliance on adverbs or context rather than tense markers to specify exact time frames, as in "ie ne tsuku made akachan wa moo gojikan neta koto ni naru deshoo" (By the time unspecified subject gets to the house the baby will probably have been sleeping for five hours), and possibly the large number of homonyms such as "kaeru" (frog, change, go back, hatch) put heavy requirements on the speaker as far as making the intended meaning explicit, particularly

when there are added contextual factors (such as being in a noisy room) which obscure the communication process. Thus, paralinguistic and extralinguistic activities are employed and function in the important role of clarifying the linguistic act. In addition, they convey other information, such as emotional state or physical features of the participants. In this sense, intonation and gestures, especially HN, are requisite for ease in understanding.

The fourth way in which HN is used is to show listener uptake in a conversation. This is similar to the way the listener assures the speaker of continued participation in the communicative event in English, but the placement of HN in Japanese conversation differs considerably from that of English. In Japanese, listener HN occurs more frequently, many times at or close to phrase boundaries and often accompanied by verbal responses (such as "hai, hee, mmm, a soo desu ka, hoo, nee"). These response tokens are often pronounced in overlapped speech (one of the most noticeable differences from English listener uptake). Eye gaze does not have to come from the speaker in order to elicit listener HN. It is present regardless. In its employment as an uptake signal, HN is still closely interrelated with the degree of formality and its occurrence is interspersed according to syntactic units. Other signals may carry similar force in various contexts. Eye gaze or other gestures or facial expressions may be a similar correlate.

Within the domain of discourse analysis, or more appropriately, conversational analysis, turn-taking has HN as one of its signals. Since HN occurs at or near phrase boundaries (clause and sentence boundaries), it acts as an important clue to grammatical as well as discourse units. Hinds (1982) analyzes Japanese conversation as occurring in possible adjacency triplets (rather than the adjacency pairs typically observed in English). He describes the triplet as consisting of a question (or remark), an answer (or reply), and acknowledgment in the form of a confirmation, restatement, or clarification. The great number of back channel expressions which crop up give credence to this idea. Within this frame, turn-taking becomes a complicated business which is regulated by a combination of factors. At the beginning of a turn, there is a tendency toward gaze avoidance by the speaker (Herlcfsky, 1985). The end of a turn is signalled by "grammatical closure, and to accompany this closure . . . one of two types of nonverbal cue: eye contact or head nodding" (Hinds, 1982:322). Of the two, eye contact has less formality and may simply be used with a drop in pitch which signifies final intonation. HN typically accompanies the signal of politeness forms such as the utterance final verb ending "-masu" or the polite copula "desu" which show closure for a turn. This use of gestural signals of turn-

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taking is in agreement with findings from observations of English turn-taking. Certain kinesic signals increase near the ends of utterances and together with verbal and intonational signals are important cues for smooth turn-taking in English (Ellis and Beattie, 1986:191). These types of gestural "regulators" (Ellis and Beattie, 1986:39) can convey the desire of the listener for the speaker to continue, repeat, or elaborate an idea, and the hope of the speaker that he has been listened to and understood, and his desire to turn over the floor. Visual turn-taking cues are qualified as being "obligatory in their operation and possessing universal significance" (p. 182).

As for the physical realizations of movement, the more polite the situation is, the greater the frequency of HN, and also the greater the distance of movement becomes. HN oriented toward clarifying syntactic units generally is made up of small downward nods at phrase boundaries and larger nods at clause termination. End of turn HN is commonly a large movement or multiple movements and often accompanied with a smile. Sometimes with the act of explaining something in a very clear way, a forward pushing HN is exhibited. If the speaker is not too convinced of the accuracy of what is being said, or if listener agreement is dubious, the HN will be in a more diagonal direction. Often, the movement is only downward and the head remains lowered until just prior to the next nod, when it is brought up and then down. The upward motion may begin prior to the nod and continue until the occurrence of an expression which triggers the downward motion: "sono hoo ga ii" (that way is better), or "to omo n desu" (I believe so). With the response elicitation particles ("ne, na, ka"), HN is often in an upward direction as is the intonation. With the utterance final polite verb "deshita," two small nods were seen to be present.

Finally, how does a description of gestural workings such as those described above apply to the better understanding of linguistic behavior? Nonverbal behavior such as head nodding in Japanese has been classed as primarily useful in negotiating attitudinal interaction, leaving the task of imparting information to the verbal channel (Beattie mentions and refutes this idea, 1981:1165). It is more accurate to state that both forms of communication rely on each other and complement each other in the conveyance of complete and accurate messages.

As it relates to the discussion of the Japanese conversational values of harmony and avoidance of any awkwardness or contention, the cooperative principle of speech interaction is interesting. Grice's four maxims of cooperative conversation (as discussed in Levinson, 1983:101), which consist of the rules presumed by participants to be operating at some level of the

conversation, are well known as being a kind of pragmatic basis upon which interaction is founded and able to proceed. We know that in Japanese relative social status is encoded grammatically and semantically in the language, and it has been found here that it is also encoded gesturally to a very strong degree. So such aspects as politeness and its relation to HN or other aspects might be reviewed in light of the maxims to see if they function in Japanese similar to the way they are described as operating for English.

As for the maxim of quality, speaker HN seems to fit appropriately into the expected use as a contribution to the conversation. Listener HN, however, must be interpreted differently for Japanese than it is in English, since it occurs more often and with the intent not of conveying agreement, but rather, of showing that the listener is perceiving. The quantity maxim also seems to function slightly differently. Japanese HN shows the use of a very high degree of redundancy to reinforce grammatical or social meanings of utterances. The relevancy requirement also needs cultural reinterpretation. In English, if the listener HN occurs at irrelevant moments, it can signal boredom or other negative attitudes. Japanese listener HN seems to be relevant at many more parts of a conversation. Perhaps the maxim that may be deemed as having greatest importance in Japanese conversation in general is that of manner. How something is said is as important as and in some situations more important than what is said. In bowing, who bows the lowest or the longest is closely related to social status and if the expected bowing procedure is violated, the interaction will possibly become uncomfortable. Similarly, with HN, if it is absent when socially necessary or if it is misused, a conversation might be prematurely terminated or inadvertently be wrongly interpreted. It is difficult to imagine Japanese conversation without HN in all of its functions. It is an essential factor in satisfying the manner requirements. As given by Grice, the maxim of manner requires that we "be perspicuous" and suggests that this is achieved by being brief and orderly and by avoiding obscurity and ambiguity. A study of Japanese conversational tendencies would likely reveal that some of these suggestions need to be replaced with others. Indeed, "obscurity and ambiguity" as means of attaining the desired superficiality and non-intimacy (appropriate in formal situations) discussed earlier seem to be key components of polite Japanese interaction. For Japanese HN, in addition to a revision of the requirements of the manner maxim, it might be accurate to attach a politeness requirement or even add a separate politeness principle. The principle would advise that the speaker show deference linguistically and gesturally where appropriate and that the speaker should give ample opportunities for the listener to

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participate in the conversation (either turn-taking or expressing agreement, disagreement, understanding, or lack of understanding). For listener HN, the contribution to the conversation probably follows a manner maxim which suggests being receptive and acknowledging reception. That HN can be examined in light of the maxims is not surprising because it can be flouted just as any of the verbal strategies can and carries so much social and discourse level information that it has many similarities with verbal communication.

It is interesting to see the cultural values reflected in an area of behavior so closely linked to language. We are beginning more and more to see how useful extralinguistic input can be in determining the linguistic import of conversation. This is true for each language in its own right, and the operations of various modalities in different languages can be compared to find what tendencies are indeed universal and which are language and culture bound.

APPENDIX
TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SOME JAPANESE CONVERSATIONS

Key: HN is signified by an underline. Timing is not accurate; the following is an approximation. The five uses are labelled as: E (emphasis), P (politeness), C (clarification), L (listener uptake), and T (transition relevance place for turn-taking).

I. A middle-aged woman politely expressing an opinion.

yappari shigoto o shiyoo$_{E}$ to omoeba kanarazu$_{E}$ nani$_{E}$ ka dekiru no de ne$_{P(T)}$ ano watashi wa ano tada$_{E}$ tsuma ni nattari ne haha oya ni naru koto . . . C(P)

("Likewise, if you decide to get a job, there has got to be something you can do, you know? Uh, as for me, uh, I only became a wife, and then a mother . . .")

II. A younger woman expressing an opinion less formally.

oya ga shigoto shite iru to sabishii deshoo$_{E}$ ni ne$_{E(T)(P)}$ sugoku kurushii koto da to omo n desu ne$_{E(T)(P)}$ tatoeba no hanashi, ano haha oya nari maa chichi oya mo dotchi demo$_{E}$ ga uchi ni kaeranakattari shitchau$_{E}$ to dame$_{E}$ da na to omotchau kara . .

("If the parents are working, (the children) are lonely, you know? I think it's extremely hard on them, you know? As an example, uh, if the mother, well, or father, either one, can't be at home with them, I think it's bad . . .")

III. A middle-aged woman very politely expressing an opinion.

jibun o migaite koo kodomo to otto to katei to de sore kara shigoto to de ano soo yuu$_{E}$ mono de motte umarete kurooshite sukoshi zutsu nanka ningen ga dekite itte ne$_{P(T)}$

("You polish yourself up, then, there are, like, children, a husband, a household, and then your job, uh, you have these kinds of things; you are born with them, you suffer, and little by little, you can become a real person, you know?")

IV. A mother reading a letter aloud to her family.

okuni no tame ni sasageru koto wa danshi no honkai de arimasu ga imada haha ue ni kooyoo no tsukushi zaran koto omou to harawata no chigireru omoi ga itashimasu T(P)

("To devote oneself to one's country is the highest calling of a man. When I think that I still haven't repaid my mother for all her kindnesses, it tears me up inside.")

V. A wife giving directions to her husband.

tabakoyasan sitte iru no$_T$ (husband--eee?)
koko kara da to ne$_T$ shinjuku yuki no densha notte$_C$
shimokitazawa de orite eki kara go roppun no hinode$_E$ sootte
apaato yo$_T$

("Do you know the tobacconists? If I say it from here, you get on the train bound for Shinjuku, get off at Shimokitazawa. From the station, it's five or six minutes to Hinode Sootte Apartments.")

VI. A formal interview. Interviewer is a woman dressed in kimono. Interviewee is an older man also dressed in kimono. The man is speaking with back-channeling from the woman.

kono e no naka no kyoodai^C. . moo hitori dashitchattan^L desu
(listener) hai
kedo sono kata ga sensoo$_P$de nakunattan$_P$dakedo$_L$. . . minna
P(C) L(PRT) (listener) aaa$_L$
ano ne kokoro no naka wa naka naka$_E$ shikkari$_L$ tsuyokatta to
$_P$omoo kedomo
(listener) neee$_L$

("Of the family members in this picture, there was one more who they let go to the war, but that person was killed there . . . everyone, uh, you know? I think it made a very very strong impression on them.")

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